

Answer the Escalation; Build Aug. 6-9 Protest!

THE MILITANT

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By the Editors

The Johnson administration's criminal bombings of oil storage depots in Hanoi and Haiphong give added urgency to building the Aug. 6-9 International Protests against the war in Vietnam. It is the obligation of each and every opponent of the war to pitch in and make these demonstrations as big as possible in the face of this new escalation.

In New York, three main

feeder marches to Times Square are planned for Saturday, Aug. 6. From there, marchers will proceed to Rockefeller Center for several brief speeches and a rally. Other demonstrations have already been planned for 30 cities across the country, and for Japan, Italy, Canada and Australia.

There can be no doubt about the seriousness of the U.S. attack. In spite of Washington's denial that heavily populated areas had been bombed, Jean Raffaelli of Agence France Presse, the only Western correspondent in Hanoi, reported that there had been heavy civilian casualties.

From the very beginning, Washington has been conducting a war of destruction in Vietnam — aimed at the revolutionary people both north and south. Each step of the U.S. escalation has been carefully measured in the Pentagon war rooms to see what they can get away with.

Thus the U.S. has gone from the role of "adviser" with only a few thousand soldiers in Vietnam, by stages, to become a mighty aggressor with over 280,000 combat troops, in the space of less than two years. The daily saturation bombings in the north and south are now being conducted on a scale

greater than in any previous war.

It is a total hoax that Washington is "escalating" to force "negotiations." Washington is escalating to attempt to crush the Vietnamese freedom fighters and cripple north Vietnam. This new escalation against north Vietnam sets the stage for all-out war on that country, possibly including a full-scale invasion by the 750,000 U.S. troops "programmed" for Vietnam duty already. And it brings the world one step closer to nuclear war.

July 4 — America's traditional holiday for celebrating independence from colonial aggression — was celebrated around the world in anti-U.S. demonstrations. In Paris, the U.S. flag was burned on the Place de la Concorde. Denunciations of U.S. policy came from London, Moscow, Denmark, Bonn, Oslo and Stockholm as well; and in Japan, the following day, Secretary of State Rusk was met by protesting students.

The American people are growing more and more opposed to this war. It is up to the antiwar movement to give voice to this developing sentiment, by organizing the largest possible demonstrations Aug. 6-9 to demand that the troops be brought home now!



Photo by Finer

TAKE STAND. Seated from left to right, Pvt. Dennis Mora, Pfc. James Johnson and Pvt. David Samas at New York press conference where they announced they would refuse to go to fight in Vietnam because the war being waged by the U.S. there is "immoral, illegal and unjust."

Three GIs Refuse to Fight Against Vietnamese People

By Barry Sheppard

NEW YORK — Three soldiers under orders to go to Vietnam declared at a press conference here June 30 that they would refuse to board ship on the ground that the Vietnam war is "illegal, immoral and unjust."

Simultaneous with their announcement, legal proceedings on their behalf were begun against Defense Secretary McNamara and Army Secretary Resor. The soldiers' attorneys, Stanley Faulkner and Selma Samols, are seeking an injunction to bar McNamara and Resor from sending them to Vietnam. A hearing on the injunction is set for July 11, two days before the men are scheduled to go to the Oakland, Calif., army terminal for final processing before they ship to Vietnam.

The three soldiers are Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. David Samas and Pvt. Dennis Mora. Pfc. Johnson, 20, is a Negro. He was raised in Harlem and attended Bronx Community College for a year when he was drafted.

Pvt. Dennis Mora was born in the Puerto Rican community of

East Harlem 25 years ago. He attended the Bronx High School of Science. After graduating from the City College of New York with a B.A. in history, he worked for the city welfare department before being drafted.

Pvt. David Samas was attending Modesto Junior College in California when he was drafted. He is 29 years old and was born in Chicago. He was just married

in June. All three were drafted in December of last year.

To aid the three courageous soldiers in their legal struggle, the Ft. Hood Three Defense Committee has been formed. A. J. Muste and Staughton Lynd are co-chairmen of the committee, and David Dellinger is secretary.

Although the committee has just recently been organized, it has received broad support. Among the initial sponsors are Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC; Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE; Tom Hayden of Students for a Democratic Society; Al Evers of District 65, AFL-CIO; George Novack of the Socialist Workers Party; Herbert Aptheker of the Communist Party; David McReynolds of the Socialist Party; Bill Epton of Progressive Labor Party; Donna Allen of Women Strike for Peace; and Ruth Gage Colby of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

At the soldiers' press conference, Lincoln Lynch, associate national director of CORE, said, "Our nation has become a nation of hypocrites. CORE wholeheartedly

(Continued on Page 2)

"TANUYEN, South Vietnam, July 3 - United States Air Force lawyers made condolence payments of \$33 in piastres this weekend to each of the families of seven children killed accidentally Friday by an Air Force weapon." — The New York Times.

N. Y. SWP Sets Plans To Run Antiwar Slate

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party will enter a full slate in the New York gubernatorial elections. The central theme of its campaign will be opposition to the Vietnam war.

A convention of the party to be held shortly will nominate candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor, controller and attorney general. A platform for the election will be adopted.

A party statement declared: "Johnson's newest escalation of the war must be matched by an escalation of the activities of the antiwar movement. The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party will be designed to help accomplish that necessary aim."

The party said its central programmatic point will be: "End the Vietnam war. Bring the GIs home now!" Whenever the SWP candidates appear, be it on TV and radio or at election meetings or street rallies, the speakers will hammer at this theme, marshalling facts and arguments in support of the demand. They will also urge those opposed to the war to register their stand at the polls by casting their votes for the Socialist Workers ticket.

The opportunity to reach wide numbers of people through the avenues offered by the elections will also be utilized to publicize and urge support for the various activities of the antiwar movement. On TV and radio, the SWP candidates will publicize various slated picket lines and demonstrations and call on people to participate.

The party also said it will make a special effort to reach members of the armed forces with its antiwar platform and will seek to win

a maximum number of absentee ballots from GIs. "Above all others," the statement said, "the men who are fighting and dying in this reactionary war have the right to express their views on it. We will ask them to register their vote in favor of ending the war at once and getting out of Vietnam by sending in absentee ballots for the SWP ticket."

The SWP will be the only state ticket running on a platform of opposition to the war. Incumbent Nelson Rockefeller is a strong partisan of Johnson's policy in Vietnam and none of the principal contenders for the Democratic nomination are against the war.

To win a place on the ballot, the party must secure a minimum of 12,000 signatures of registered voters on independent nominating petitions. Of these, a minimum of 50 must come from each of the 61 of the 62 counties in the state. The five-week period for the circulation of nominating petitions opens Aug. 10.

Those who wish to participate in the circulation of nominating petitions should contact the Socialist Workers Party at 873 Broadway in New York.

Our Schedule For the Summer

During the months of July and August, **THE MILITANT** is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated July 25. Regular weekly publication will resume with the issue of Sept. 4.

Malcolm X Speaks

The following statements by Malcolm X, from meetings and interviews in the last months of his life, are reprinted from the book, *Malcolm X Speaks*, with the permission of Merit Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003. Copyright 1965 by Merit Publishers.

INSTALLMENT 29

Linking the Problem

Harry Ring: In the recent debate on the Congo in the United Nations, a number of spokesmen for the African nations condemned the U.S. intervention in the Congo, and they likened the United States' role in the Congo to its treatment of the black people in Mississippi. One reporter at least — I believe from the *New York Times* — said that you were at least in part responsible for the African delegates taking this position.

Malcolm: I have never taken responsibility or credit, you might say, for the stance taken by the African nations. The African nations today are represented by intelligent statesmen. And it was only a matter of time before they would have to see that they would have to intervene in behalf of 22 million black Americans who are their brothers and sisters.

And it is a good example of why our problem has to be internationalized. Now the African nations are speaking out and linking the problem of racism in Mississippi with the problem of racism in the Congo, and also the problem of racism in south Vietnam. It's all racism. It's all part of the vicious racist system that the Western powers have used to continue to degrade and exploit and oppress the people in Africa and Asia and Latin America during recent centuries.

And when these people in these different areas begin to see that the problem is the same problem, and when the 22 million black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in south Vietnam and the Congo and Latin America, then — the oppressed people of this earth

make up a majority, not a minority — then we approach our problem as a majority that can demand, not as a minority that has to beg. (From interview, Station WBAI-FM, Jan. 28, 1965)

Moise Tshombe and Jesse James

Malcolm: Imagine the United States saying Tshombe, the murderer, is the only one who can restore peace to the Congo. It's like saying Jesse James is the only one who can run the bank — therefore you should let Jesse James run the bank; and the only reason the bank is in trouble is because Jesse James was already in the bank. (Answer to question by member of McComb delegation, Dec. 31, 1964)

Two Minutes on Vietnam

Malcolm: Address myself to Vietnam for two minutes? It's a shame — that's one second. It is, it's a shame. You put the government on the spot when you even mention Vietnam. They feel embarrassed — you notice that? They wish they would not even have to read the newspapers about south Vietnam, and you can't blame them. It's just a trap that they let themselves get into. It's John Foster Dulles they're trying to blame it on, because he's dead. But they're trapped, they can't get out. You notice I said "they." They are trapped, they can't get out. If they pour more men in, they'll get deeper. If they pull the men out, it's a defeat. And they should have known it in the first place.

France had about 200,000 Frenchmen over there, and the most highly mechanized modern army sitting on this earth. And those little rice farmers ate them up, and their tanks, and everything else. Yes, they did, and France was deeply entrenched, had been there a hundred or more years. Now, if she couldn't stay there and was entrenched, why, you are out of your mind if you think Sam can get in over there.

But we're not supposed to say that. If we say that, we're anti-American, or we're seditious, or we're subversive, or we're advocating something that's not intelligent. So that's two minutes, sir. Now they're turning around and getting in a worse situation in the Congo. They're getting into the Congo the same way they got into south Vietnam. They put Diem over there. Diem took all of their money, all their war equipment and everything else, and got them trapped. Then they killed him.

Yes, they killed him, murdered him in cold blood, him and his brother, Madam Nhu's husband, because they were embarrassed. They found out that they had made him strong and he was turning against them. So they killed him and put big Minh in his place, you know, the fat one. And he wouldn't act right, so they got rid of him and put Khanh in his place. And he's started telling Taylor to get out. You know, when the puppet starts talking back to the puppeteer, the puppeteer is in bad shape. (Militant Labor Forum, Jan. 7, 1965)

Socialism And Man

By Che Guevara

24 pps. 35 cents

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5 East Third St.
New York, N.Y. 10003

...3 GIs Refuse to Fight in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

supports these three young men. We call upon all black soldiers and all black people to bring an end to this war by any and all means necessary."

"SNCC wholeheartedly supports the action of these men," said Stokely Carmichael. "This country is morally bankrupt and we must develop a power base which can say 'no' with power when they drop the bombs as they did yesterday on Hanoi and Haiphong."

None of the three soldiers are pacifists. They base their stand upon rejection of the war in Vietnam. Pvt. Dennis Mora read the following statement at the press conference on behalf of all three:

"Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. David Samas, and myself, Pvt. Dennis Mora, are three soldiers, formerly stationed at Fort Hood, Texas, in the same company of the 142 Signal Battalion, 2nd Armored Division. We have received orders to report on July 13 at Oakland Army Terminal in California for final processing and shipment to Vietnam."

Legal Action

"We have decided to take a stand against this war, which we consider immoral, illegal and unjust. We are initiating today, through our attorneys, Stanley Faulkner of New York and Mrs. Selma Samols of Washington, D.C., an action in the courts to enjoin the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Army from sending us to Vietnam. We intend to report as ordered to the Oakland Army Terminal, but under no circumstances will we board ship for Vietnam. We are prepared to face court martial if necessary."

"We represent in our backgrounds a cross section of the army and of America. James Johnson

Rehearing Ordered In Joe Johnson's Deportation Case

By Paul Eidsvik

On June 14, the U.S. Government reached a new low in its harassment of Joe Johnson, the Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party. After more than two years of hearings, his deportation case was returned to the St. Paul office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for more hearings and a new appeal. Johnson is a native-born citizen.

Johnson had carried his case through four hearings before the Immigration Service and in March of this year, had taken it to the Board of Immigration Appeals in an effort to force the return of his native American citizenship. The government claims he lost his citizenship by participating in Canadian elections as a young man. He was prepared, if necessary, to sue in the federal courts to challenge the government's right to seek his deportation.

Their decision to return the case to St. Paul for more hearings followed from an admission that the case against Johnson was weak. They stated in the decision that it would have to be shored up and that new evidence would have to be introduced.

Johnson and his attorneys, Leonard Boudin of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and Douglas Hall of Minneapolis, are now considering the next steps which they will take to end the harassment of Johnson and restore the rights which were taken from him when he was declared "stateless."

Funds are urgently need for the legal expenses involved in this fight, and to publicize the case. Contributions should be sent to: Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, P.O. Box 434, New York, N.Y. 10009.



Dave Dellinger

is a Negro, David Samas is of Lithuanian and Italian parents, I am a Puerto Rican. We speak as American soldiers.

"We have been in the army long enough to know that we are not the only GIs who feel as we do. Large numbers of men in the service either do not understand this war or are against it."

"When we entered the army Vietnam was for us only a newspaper box score of GIs and Vietcong killed or wounded. We were all against it in one way or another, but we were willing to 'go along with the program,' believing that we would not be sent to Vietnam."

"We were told from the very first day of our induction that we were headed for Vietnam. During basic training it was repeated often by sergeants and officers, and soon it became another meaningless threat that was used to make us take our training seriously."

"But later on Vietnam became a fact of life when some one you knew wondered how he could break the news to his girl, wife, or family that he was being sent there. After he solved that problem, he had to find a reason that would satisfy him. The reasons were many — 'Somebody's got to do it,' 'When your number's up, your number's up,' 'The pay is good,' and 'You've got to stop them some place' were phrases heard in the barracks and mess hall, and used by soldiers to encourage each other to accept the war as their own. Besides, what could be done about it anyway? Orders are orders."

"As we saw more and more of this, the war became the one thing we talked about most and the one point we all agreed upon. No one wanted to go and more than that, there was no reason for anyone to go."

"The Vietcong obviously had the moral and physical support of

most of the peasantry who were fighting for their independence. We were told that you couldn't tell them apart — that they looked like any other skinny peasant."

"Our man or our men in Saigon has and have always been brutal dictators, since Diem first violated the 1954 Geneva promise of free elections in 1956."

"The Buddhist and military revolt in all the major cities proves that the people of the cities also want an end to Ky and U.S. support for him."

"The Saigon army has become the adviser to American GIs who have to take over the fighting."

"No one uses the word 'winning' anymore because in Vietnam it has no meaning. Our officers just talk about five and ten more years of war with at least one-half million of our boys thrown into the grinder. We have been told that many times we may face a Vietnamese woman or child that we will have to kill them. We will never go there — to do that — for Ky!"

"We know that Negroes and Puerto Ricans are being drafted and end up in the worst of the fighting all out of proportion to their numbers in the population; and we have first-hand knowledge that these are the ones who have been deprived of decent education and jobs at home."

Refuse to Go

"The three of us, while stationed together, talked a lot and found we thought alike on one over-riding issue — the war in Vietnam must be stopped. It was all talk and we had no intentions of getting into trouble by making waves at that stage."

"Once back in Texas, we were told that we were on levy to Vietnam. All we had discussed and thought about now was real. It was time for us to quit talking and decide. Go to Vietnam and ignore the truth or stand and fight for what we know is right."

"We have made our decision. We will not be a part of this unjust, immoral and illegal war. We want no part of a war of extermination. We oppose the criminal waste of American lives and resources. We refuse to go to Vietnam!"

Defense Committee Makes Appeal

The Ft. Hood Three Defense Committee is in urgent need of funds to help the three GIs who are challenging the government's attempt to send them to Vietnam. Costly legal action has already begun on behalf of the soldiers.

Make checks payable to Rev. A. J. Muste, who is serving as temporary treasurer of the committee. Send your contribution to: Ft. Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman St., 10th floor, New York, N.Y. 10038.

JUST PUBLISHED

The Black Panther Party

Speech by John Hulett — Interview with Stokely Carmichael — Report from Lowndes County

25 cents

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Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

THE REAL MEANING OF BLACK POWER — Report on Lowndes County Freedom Organization by Derrick Morrison, national committee member YSA. Friday, July 22, 8:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

JAZZ, THE COLD WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT AND REVOLUTION IN JAZZ: THE NEW BLACK RADICALISM. Two talks by Frank Kofsky, Marxist and jazz critic. Fri., July 15, and Sat., July 16, both at 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

THE REAL MEANING OF BLACK POWER — A report on the Lowndes County Freedom Organization by Derrick Morrison, national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, just returned from Lowndes County, Ala. Fri., July 15, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NATHAN HARE, author of *The Black Anglo Saxons*, will speak on "Blacks In Our White Society." Fri., July 22, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

LOS ANGELES

THE GREAT CHINA PURGE. An analysis by Theodore Edwards, Southern Calif. SWP chairman. Fri., July 15, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THE NEW PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. Two views: Ben Dobbs, CP spokesman and Milt Alvin, SWP spokesman. Fri., Aug. 5, 8:30 p.m. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

INTERVIEW WITH AN EX-GI

What I Saw in Vietnam

By Toby Rice

Pvt. James Jones recently returned from Vietnam, convinced by his experience that the war is immoral and wrong. "When you get to a village," he told me, "you see women and children and farmers. Well, these people are supposed to be VC's. You have to kill them, including the women and children. We took a lot of women prisoners, and children too. They were bound and blindfolded. We turned them over to the south Vietnamese troops."

"What happened after that, I don't know. But I do know that they torture their prisoners."

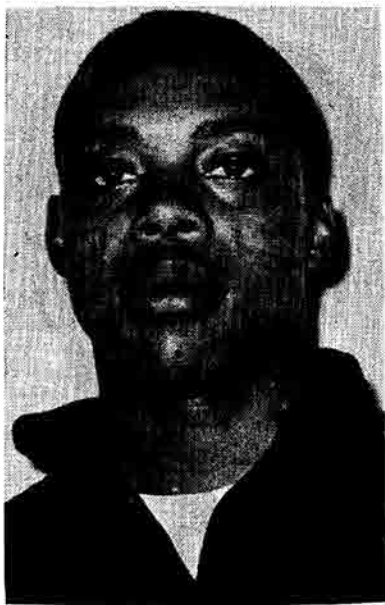
Pvt. Jones is 23 years old, and had volunteered to go to Vietnam, thinking the war was just and necessary. He spent 14 months in Vietnam, and saw the cities of Saigon, Pleiku, Phong Tieh and Bien Hoa. He was on the front lines for six months. Since his return in May, he has been speaking out against the war.

In discussing what he saw in the cities, Pvt. Jones said: "First, about inflation, sodas were four piastres when I first got to Vietnam; when I left, they were over 30. When I first got over there, you could buy a leather jacket for 1,900 piastres; when I left, it was over 7,000 piastres — about the same price as in the U.S."

"You can get anything you want," he said, "from chewing gum to narcotics. Marijuana can be gotten in any bar in Vietnam. You can get contacts from the girls in the bars to get any other drugs you want. There are opium houses."

"The average girl gets married around 13 years old. As a rule, she has to earn a dowry — and the way to do it is become a prostitute."

"Every civilian policeman I ever came in contact with wanted you to go to the PX and buy him something. The head of the black market is a civilian policeman. The only people who can be arrested are the ones who don't pay the cops. All the hoodlums in the cities are called 'cowboys' — and 9 out of 10 cowboys become cops."



James Jones

When he was in Saigon Pvt. Jones witnessed one of the recent demonstrations against the Ky regime. "A mob of people, carrying Buddhist flags, stopped traffic and surrounded our truck," he explained. "They were shouting in Vietnamese, mainly. But some who spoke broken English were shouting, 'Americans, go home.' Others shouted, 'Ky — puppet of Johnson.'"

"The guys in my unit kept hoping, and they said this, that the demonstrators would kick us out of their country."

Pvt. Jones was raised in Harlem. He told me how, as a black GI, he was treated by the Vietnamese people. He said the women and children call the Negroes "same-same," meaning colored, like them. He explained how the white soldiers refer to the Vietnamese people as "gooks" — and how some of the white "buddies" of the Negro GI's in his outfit burned a KKK cross one night. This was explained away by an officer as "just a practical joke."

Turning to another subject, I asked him, "What about the casualty statistics that we get back

here in the U.S.? Do you think they're generally correct?"

"You always hear in the news," he said, "that we've killed, say, 250 'Vietcong.' 'American casualties were light.' Well, I witnessed a whole company get wiped out. We got the news that night that 'American casualties were light.' This was over 178 men. 'The casualties were light.' One time we got demobilized because our own planes dropped bombs on us."

Jones said that many soldiers talk among themselves about the war. "When you get a bunch of guys together who are arguing about what is happening, you hear some guys talking like, 'Maybe communism is right' or 'democracy is right.' Most of the GI's there — regardless of their rank — want to go home. They don't want to be there. They want to go. It makes no sense. Especially when the Buddhists had their demonstrations — the GI's all said, 'We hope they do kick us out. We want to go home.'"

He told me how some of the soldiers would resist fighting. There was one GI, he said, who killed a baby, and threw his weapon down. His commanding officers didn't know whether to commit him to an insane asylum for "rehabilitation" or to have him imprisoned. When I asked Jones if the other GI's thought he was a coward, he answered, "No, a lot of the fellows sympathized with him."

Antiwar Sailor Arrested At Philadelphia Rally

By Ron Wolin

PHILADELPHIA, July 4 — Dennis Ciesielski, a 24-year-old Navy enlisted man, was arrested here at Independence Hall today for participating in an antiwar demonstration. The Navy shore patrol took him away. There is no information yet about any charges against him. Thirty-six other demonstrators were also arrested for leafleting a crowd who had come to hear Under Secretary of State George Ball defend the administration's war.

Ciesielski had recently written President Johnson declaring his opposition to the war, and his refusal to serve in Vietnam.

A group of Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam marched to Philadelphia from Valley Forge yesterday and today, and joined the demonstration at Independence Hall.

Starting from George Washington's headquarters in Valley Forge, the veterans marched behind the 13-starred Revolutionary War flag.

Other than the 100 degree-plus heat and the inevitable blisters, most of the first day's leg of the march was uneventful until the group reached the vicinity of Ardmore, Pa. Heckling was encountered on the road leading into the town. This continued on the streets of Ardmore and culminated in an attack on the veterans by two young men.

One of the attackers ripped a placard from a marcher and started throwing punches. His companion was close behind. The veterans responded quickly, subdued the attackers and held them until the arrival of the police. No one was hurt.

Rally Speakers

At the rally, Robin Palmer of the veterans group spoke. He denounced the U.S. government as the main enemy of the American people, and not the "Vietcong." Also speaking at the rally were A. J. Muste, Charles Walker of CNVA, Anton Kuerti, John Phillips and Stuart Meachum of the American Friends Service Committee.

Two of the veterans, Robin Palmer and Gilbert Friedman, burned their discharge papers at the rally.

The 37 arrested demonstrators had entered Independence Hall to distribute their leaflets. The police made a decision that leafleting would be considered a breach of peace and disorderly conduct — on July 4 at the birthplace of American independence and the Bill of Rights!

Their defense is being provided by lawyers from the ACLU, and should be helped by testimony from three other demonstrators who entered Independence Hall from another direction and distributed leaflets without disturbance.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

NONVIOLENCE IN AMERICA: A Documentary History edited by Staughton Lynd. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 535 pp. \$3.45 p+p'r.

In this work, Staughton Lynd has put together a valuable anthology of materials on nonviolence both as a tactic and a philosophy of life. Among the contributors to this volume are such consequential contemporary figures as Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King, A. J. Muste and David Dellinger.

The book contains documents which go back to the American Quaker movement of colonial times. There is material on the anti-slavery abolitionist movements and on the conscientious objectors of World Wars I and II. In short, *Nonviolence in America* is a historical survey of pacifism in the United States.

We learn that nonviolence was a significant political force before the two great social transformations in America, the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, but not during or in the aftermath of these profound social changes in American society. The irrelevancy of pacifism as a method of social change would seem to have been proven twice over in American history.

This may be why Staughton Lynd felt called upon to define "nonviolence" as "including the following overlapping but distinct elements: (1) refusal to retaliate ('pacifism,' 'nonresistance'); (2) deliberate lawbreaking for conscience's sake ('civil disobedience'); (3) acting out of conviction by demonstrative action ('direct action')."

The spuriousness of this definition can be easily seen in the fact that acts of civil disobedience and direct action have often been carried out with the aid of organized self-defense squads, such as the Deacons for Defense and Jus-

tice in the civil rights movement, instead of under a pacifist discipline.

In addition, nonviolence should properly be defined as refusal to defend oneself in the face of attack, not as "refusal to retaliate." This latter definition implies that what opponents of pacifism advocate is a system of counter-terrorism (lynching for lynching, murder for murder), rather than a systematic use of self-defensive measures against violent attacks.

One can only assume that Staughton Lynd senses the weakness of his pacifist position. There is no other way to explain his specious and rather flimsy definition of nonviolence.

How else can one account for the inclusion in this volume of such non-nonviolent figures as Michael Schwab and August Spies, two of the Haymarket anarchists, or William Hayward, the famous I.W.W. leader?

Lynd's attachment to nonviolence leads him to characterize Bayard Rustin as "a symbol both of the profound interdependence of the postwar peace and civil rights movements, and of the increasingly revolutionary temper of American nonviolence in the 1960's." Rustin is one of the most conservative of the leading civil rights figures. He wants to get the demonstrators off the streets and into the Democratic Party.

A typical example of Rustin's particular "nonviolent" orientation in this volume is his comparison of the revolutionary freedom fighters of the 1964 Harlem rebellion to "a child in an attention-seeking tantrum!"

—Arthur Maglin

Workers Party, 1702 E. Fourth St. 25¢

When an uprising of great social impact takes place, it is important to have an accurate account of what happened so that it becomes part of our working-class history. When such a factual report is combined with a probing social analysis, as is done in this pamphlet, it becomes a valuable source of information for those who want to understand not only where a movement is in a particular period, but where it came from and where it is likely to go.

Della Rossa's "Why Watts Exploded — How The Ghetto Fought Back" does this for the ghetto uprising of last August. At the same time, she gives the background for the explosion, the conditions in the ghetto which brought on this massive demonstration. Her pamphlet is first class journalism plus.

Although it is an objective account, that doesn't mean that the writer is impartial. She reports the momentous event from all sides; but she is on the side of every act of rebellion and is angered by every defeat and victimization suffered by the rebellious prisoners of the ghetto. The defeats of the uprising are the 34 deaths and over 4,000 arrests. The victory was that the Negroes in Watts — and not only in Watts — achieved a new consciousness as people who aspire to make their own decisions and act on them.

This new consciousness represents a big advance for the Negro people everywhere; they speak of Watts with a pride as well as anger. The writer sees that as the trend of the future already represented by the decision to break with the ruling class parties in Alabama and strike out on their own. The influence of Watts will be felt in all such efforts, and Della Rossa's pamphlet can help the movement everywhere.

—James P. Cannon

Los Angeles Afro-American Group Balks at Being Drafted by U.S. Gov't

LOS ANGELES — Two young Negroes, Karl Von Key and Norman Earl Richmond, are refusing to appear for induction into the army on the grounds that they are not citizens of the United States but colonial subjects. Both are members of the Self-Determination Committee here.

The case is the first one in which colored people have challenged the right of the U.S. government to exact a burden and responsibility equal to that exacted of whites. In their petition, which was sent to the Secretary of Defense and the Commanding Officer of the Armed Forces Induction Station in Los Angeles, Richmond and Key state:

"Based upon the actual and real relations subsisting between the colored and white people in the United States, the colored people therein, including petitioner, are not citizens of the United States but colonial subjects thereof, within the meaning of that phrase as understood in connection with the provisions for self-determination

in the Charter of the United Nations."

They further assert that the induction order places burdens on them which erroneously assume their equal positions as U.S. citizens. This "is a violation of the equal protection clause of the Constitution of the United States and the provisions for freedom and equality of peoples under the Charter of the United Nations."

"The said induction order," they continue, "was issued solely in furtherance of the military actions of the officers of the United States . . . the said military actions are unlawful . . . in violation of the Constitution . . . treaty obligations . . . including the Charter of the United Nations."

New Vietnam Escalation Protested at U of Wisc.

MADISON, Wisc. — On June 29, a protest rally against the U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong was held on the library mall at the University of Wisconsin here. Called on only a few hours' notice, the rally drew four to five hundred people.

Representatives of the sponsoring organizations addressed the crowd, and then members of the audience who wished to speak either for or against the war were given the mike. Only one speaker attempted to defend American policy.



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Monday, July 11, 1966

Let the People Decide

"There is only one who has been chosen to decide." With these words in Omaha, June 30, the colossally arrogant President of the United States declared that others could criticize what was being done in Vietnam, but the American people had chosen him and him alone to make the fateful decisions about that war. This is, of course, the most sickening lie. The American people were cynically duped into voting for him on the basis of a campaign in which he solemnly pledged himself to the very opposite of what he was already planning to do, that is, expand the undeclared war into north Vietnam.

The hard fact is that neither the American people nor even the Congress have had any voice in deciding that this war should be carried on. That unilateral decision was first made by President Kennedy and then expanded in the same way by Johnson.

Which leads us to call attention to a very sound proposal made by New York State Supreme Court Justice Samuel H. Hofstadter.

Justice Hofstadter proposed to Senator Robert Kennedy, July 4, that he should introduce a resolution in Congress to have the question of U.S. policy in Vietnam placed on the ballot in November in the form of a referendum. He said the various positions on the war should be included and the results should be "morally controlling" on the President.

In motivating the proposal, he said that "members of Congress — with a few conspicuous exceptions — have defaulted on their obligation and prerogative as guardians of the people's trust and well-being."

"It has therefore become the immediate concern of every voter in the United States — he should now be heard," the judge said.

We believe that if such a referendum were held, and if the people had the opportunity to hear all views, they would vote to end the war at once.

Gov't Intimidation

The declaration by three GIs that they will not fight in Vietnam (see story, page 1) has obviously made an impression on the warmakers. This was indicated by a July 3 *New York Times* interview with Frank Bartimo, described as the top legal expert at the Pentagon.

With his remarks crudely designed to intimidate, the Pentagon lawyer insisted that the wartime military code applies with full force even though the United States is not legally at war and that those who refuse to fight in Vietnam can be prosecuted under the military code. He said that in extreme cases, the penalty could be death, although he did add this was not likely.

Speaking of legality, what about the other side of the question? The United States government is engaged in an undeclared, illegal and reactionary war against a people fighting heroically to determine their own destiny. The three GIs have taken the government to court in a legal challenge of this illegal war.

It is the responsibility of the antiwar movement to give their case every support.

New Subway Swindle

The New York subway fare hike from 15 cents to 20 cents illustrates how a government concerned with the interests of the business community operates. During the recent subway strike department store owners and employers screamed they were losing millions of dollars, indicating how invaluable the transit system is to them. Yet they contribute nothing to finance the operation of the system — except perhaps a rare token when they can't get a cab. The subways, you see, unlike the police and fire department and other municipal services, must be "self-sustaining." So the straphanger pays.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 2649, Denver 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1

to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway. 982-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party, 5714 San Pablo Ave., Oakland. Telephone 532-2782.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum, P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Evergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party, LA 2-4325.

CHINA'S POLITICAL CRISIS

Curb on College Entrants

By George Novack

The admission of all students to universities and secondary schools has been suspended for six months by decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government of China, Radio-Peking announced June 18. This decision has been taken to permit revision of entrance requirements into the higher educational system. According to the authorities, the present setup is too bourgeois and discriminates against workers, peasants, soldiers and young revolutionaries.

This means, according to the June 19-20 Paris daily *Le Monde*, that about half a million young people who would normally have entered the university this September will have to wait until next January when the new regulations will be published and put into effect.

Such an arbitrary interruption of the educational process appears on its face to be injurious to the welfare of the nation. In the fast-moving 20th century, the progress of technology, science, industry, communications and even agriculture vitally depend upon developing higher educational qualifications among the young generation. This upgrading is all the more imperative for the People's Republic of China which has to modernize itself under forced draft amidst extremely adverse circumstances.

Granted that the children of the poor should be given equal and even preferential access to educational facilities. How is this aim promoted by closing entry into the upper grades for everyone for six months?

The projected educational reform is directly linked with the vaunted "high tide of the great proletarian cultural revolution" which "has been unfolding vigorously throughout China for several months, in response to the great call of the Central Committee of the Chinese CP and Chairman Mao Tse-tung." According to a Hsinhua dispatch from Peking June 11, "the magnitude, impact, intensity and strength of this great proletarian cultural revolution are without precedent in history. The whole of China is a vast scene of seething revolution."

Along with a companion editorial from *Red Flag* of the same date, this piece tells how the enemy is being unmasked and vanquished through this campaign. "Hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, and soldiers... armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have been writing articles, holding discussions and putting up posters written in big characters to sweep away the ogres of all kinds entrenched in ideological and cultural positions..."

The conspiracy of the "ogres" covered every sector of the ideological and cultural front. The "bourgeois representatives wrapped in red flags" had built bases in the fields of philosophy, economics, history, literature and art, the drama, education, journalism and publishing.

"The most reactionary and fanatical element in this adverse current," writes *Red Flag*, "was the anti-party 'three-family village' gang." They consisted of Professor Wu Han, deputy mayor of Peking; Teng To, secretary of the Peking municipal party committee and former chief editor of *Jenmin Jih Pao*, the foremost Communist newspaper; and Liao Mo-sha, former departmental director of the Peking party committee.

Wu Han headed the pack of the revisionist rascals. He wrote a series of articles and plays allegedly satirizing and criticizing the regime in veiled symbolic terms. He thus "served U.S. im-



Mao Tse-tung

perialism as a cultural servant... He was personally groomed by the reactionary politician Hu Shih... and was pro-Chiang Kai-shek and anti-Communist. He wormed his way into the revolutionary ranks on the eve of the country's liberation and later became vice-mayor of Peking. Posing as revolutionary cadre while engaged in counter-revolutionary dealings, Wu Han is in fact a lackey of U.S. imperialism."

The "great cultural revolution" went into high gear this May with the unmasking of the "three-family village" and their removal early in June from the Peking party committee. This committee and the party committee of Peking University were reorganized on June 3.

"The counterrevolutionary clique" was stigmatized on that date as "an instrument of the bourgeoisie to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat." They were accused of waving the black bourgeois banner of "liberty, equality and fraternity."

"Thrown into utter confusion," these careerists "hurriedly invoked five 'talismans' to support and shelter the bourgeois rightists and suppress and attack the proletarian left." These "talismans" were: (1) fake liberalization which argued that otherwise "people would not dare to speak up"; (2) "construction before destruction" when "it is precisely destruction that we want to come first"; (3) condemnation of the Left as "crude" and "acting like a cudgel" and pretending to be "meticulous" and "profound" when they are really "big-party tyrants" and "big-scholar tyrants"; (4) upholding "purely academic discussion"; (5) insisting that "in the face of truth everybody is equal," "everyone has his share of mistaken views," and "it is all a muddle." (We sympathize with this last point.)

Red Flag admits abstractly that "the revolutionary left wing may commit one error or another" but refrains from pinpointing any specific mistake made under Mao's administration.

The plotters who were preparing to stage a coup had two prototypes before them. One was the "blatant counterrevolutionary molding of public opinion by the Khrushchev revisionist group which, soon after, staged a 'palace' coup and usurped party, military and government power, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The other was the 1956 Hungarian political revolution where "the counterrevolutionaries also prepared public opinion before they took to the streets to create disturbances and stage riots. This counterrevolutionary incident was engineered by imperialism and started by a group of anti-Communist intellectuals of the Peoples Club [Petöfi Circle]. Imre Nagy, who at that time still wore the badge of a Communist, was 'fitted

out with a king's robe' and became the chieftain of the counter-revolution."

It is true that both right and left-wing Communists were involved in the Hungarian uprising. But, since the Maoists lump dissidents of all stripes together under the single label of "counter-revolutionary bourgeois," it is impossible to tell one from the other in the present situation.

It is nonetheless clear from the citation of these fresh political precedents that Mao's directorate is highly apprehensive that the criticisms of the intellectuals and those higher up may set off explosions among the masses. This would explain why they are so adamant against any relaxation of the strict regimentation of thought.

They are equally fearful of "corruption of the youth." The purge has been extended to the Communist Youth League of Peking whose leading officials were ousted on June 15. The news of their dismissal was reported to have had "an electrifying impact" on the capital and touched off demonstrations of tens of thousands of youth. It is unclear what they were demonstrating for or against. The ring of purge victims was accused of using Peking University, the intellectual center of the country, as a base to win over the younger generation to their ideas.

Not all categories of intellectuals are threatened. *Red Flag* promises that "ordinary bourgeois scholars" will be provided with suitable conditions of work and given time to remold their world outlook. But the regime will have no mercy on "the bourgeois representatives who sneaked into our party, set up their clamor about 'everyone has his share of mistaken views' and 'it is all a muddle' with no other aim than of tying the Left up in knots..." and "opposing the red banner while waving red banners."

How are the disguised villains in the Communist ranks and leadership to be detected? *Red Flag* gives a simple test, "Read Chairman Mao's words, follow his teachings and act on his instruction." Otherwise...

Mao's thought, it holds, is "the greatest truth since time immemorial." "The theory and practice of comrade Mao Tse-tung may be likened to the ceaseless movement in the skies of the sun and moon and the endless flow of the rivers and streams on earth."

Such panegyrics outstrip the homage paid to Stalin at the height of his despotism. They may have been appropriate to the worship of an Asiatic god-emperor by superstitious subjects. But they are wholly out of place in an enlightened society permeated with socialist teachings and scientific attitudes.

Antiwar Group Pickets Connecticut Democrats

HARTFORD, Conn. — A call for peace was raised by about 40 pickets at the Democratic Party state convention here July 1. The pickets asked the convention to repudiate the war policy of the Johnson administration and call for immediate concrete steps toward peace. Among the steps suggested was the immediate halt to the bombing of north Vietnam.

Many convention delegates heckled the pickets and used abusive language.

While the peace partisans picketed, the delegates gave rounds of applause to Senator Thomas Dodd.

The demonstration was initiated by the Hartford Committee for Peace in Vietnam. Peace partisans from several other Connecticut towns joined in the action.

The Struggle Against War in Puerto Rico

By Pedro Juan Rua

[Pedro Juan Rua is a member of the Youth Organization of the Vito Marcantonio Mission (the New York branch) of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence].

A few months ago, the national headquarters, in San Juan, of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI) was destroyed by fire. The MPI has accused the CIA with complicity in the arson. This criminal act was devised with the purpose of trying to intimidate our struggle for independence and national liberation, and our campaign against the Vietnam war.

In the months preceding the arson, the colonial authorities in the principal cities of San Juan, Rio Piedras, Bayamon and Ponce had witnessed demonstrations condemning U.S. aggressive policies in Vietnam and Santo Domingo. On three occasions, the demonstrations swelled into the thousands.

The struggle against war is part of the revolutionary tradition of Puerto Rico. In 1917, when the U.S. ruling class entered the war among the imperialist powers in Europe, Congress issued a decree forcing Puerto Ricans to serve in the U.S. army. Mass opposition developed against the decree, including an outright rejection of it by our legislative assembly; nevertheless, the decree was imposed.

Later, the antiwar banner was militantly upheld by the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, under the leadership of the late Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos, the teacher and martyr of our struggle for independence in this century. Condemning the illegal presence of the U.S. army in Puerto Rico, the Nationalists flatly refused to serve in its ranks. During World War II and particularly during the U.S. war against Korea, this revolutionary practice spread. Hundreds of patriots were prosecuted and incarcerated by the U.S. government, many of whom still remain in jail.

In all these wars, the Puerto Rican death toll amounted to many thousands. In all of them, the contingents of Puerto Ricans were the first sent, along with Afro-Americans, to the front lines.

The present stage of our antiwar struggle, in what we call our "new struggle for independence," began in 1956 with the formation of the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI). This militant, anti-imperialist organization began by opposing the ROTC program at the university. It achieved its first victory in 1959 by forcing university authorities to put the ROTC program, formerly compulsory, on a voluntary basis. Since then, student participation in the program has greatly decreased.

Jail Youth Leader In Puerto Rico

Raúl Grillasca Domenech, a young leader of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence in San Sebastián, Puerto Rico, was arrested on June 22 for refusal to enter the United States army.

Grillasca was arrested by two federal agents and a local policeman. Grillasca had declared his refusal to enter the North American army on February 17. Since then, he has firmly maintained his decision to reject this colonialist imposition that is undemocratically placed upon all of the young men of Puerto Rico.

Grillasca was brought before Federal Commissioner Héctor Reichard. He was released upon payment of a \$1,000 bail bond. Grillasca's trial date has not yet been set.



HIT U.S. AGGRESSION. Members of Movement for Puerto Rican Independence in New York join with Dominican patriotic groups in protesting U.S. invasion of Dominican Republic.

FUPI's anti-imperialist consciousness grew as a result of the many aggressive actions by the U.S. against the Cuban Socialist Revolution, the worst of which was the U.S.-backed invasion in 1961.

MPI was organized in 1959. From the beginning, MPI explained to our people that U.S. imperialism, in its drive to secure and further its economic interests throughout the world, would pursue an increasingly aggressive policy of war, intervention and violation of the principle of self-determination of the peoples of the world.

Mass organized opposition against the U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam began in Puerto Rico in the middle of 1964. Since the escalation of the war last year, opposition to it has become a focal point of our anti-imperialist struggle.

There are two important facts concerning Puerto Ricans and the war. The first is the draft rate for Puerto Ricans. The island has a population of 2,300,000, about 1.15 percent of the total number of U.S. citizens on the mainland and territories. But more than 3.5 percent (about 1,100) of the total monthly quota of men demanded by the U.S. army come from Puerto Rico. The flow of Puerto Ricans into the U.S. army is three times larger than for other citizens. And this does not take into account Puerto Rican youth drafted from the mainland. (Over 1,000,000 Puerto Ricans live on the U.S. mainland, forced to emigrate there by unemployment).

The second fact is the death rate. Recently the news came out that approximately 15 Puerto Ricans are dying weekly in Vietnam. This, we tend to believe, is a figure disguised by the press agencies in the service of U.S. imperialism. Even so, if this figure is compared with the number of GI deaths admitted by the U.S. government, normally 60 to 70 a week, and the size of our respective populations is kept in mind, you can see to what degree the war in Vietnam is bringing death and mourning to our people.

Our antiwar struggle is part of our general struggle for independence and national liberation. As such, it has three distinct, although connected, aspects: 1) a struggle against the presence and intervention of U.S. troops and military bases on our national territory; 2) a struggle against the U.S. compulsory military service system; and 3) a struggle against the war in Vietnam and all other U.S. imperialist interventions, particularly in our sister republic of Santo Domingo.

These three elements determine the targets and content of our

demonstrations. The U.S. military bases in Puerto Rico — of which there are 15, some heavily equipped with intercontinental nuclear armaments — and the boards of the selective service system are frequent targets. Several times, our demonstrations have been large enough to shut down a selective service board for one or more days. In these activities, our demand is very clear: immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from the national territory of Vietnam and from all countries suffering U.S. intervention.

In many of these demonstrations, we have suffered attacks by the authorities of the U.S. puppet regime in Puerto Rico, the so-called "Commonwealth." These attacks have not intimidated our struggle, but on the contrary, have given it new impetus.

During the last year, a new section of the oppressed masses of Puerto Rico has actively entered our struggle: students in the public high schools. It is largely from the ranks of these proletarian youth that the U.S. army finds its draftees. This section of our population can understand more clearly than others the plight which U.S. imperialist oppression brings to the Vietnamese people. They, their families, relatives and friends experience daily the misery of low wages and unemployment, two conditions which U.S. imperialism imposes to have cheap labor at its disposal in order to extract super profits.

Recent figures released by Dr. Hugh Barton, economic adviser to the Puerto Rican colonial legislature, reveal (what we knew already) that 30 percent of the work force (244,000 out of 795,000) are unemployed.

These high school students have formed a national organization, the Federation of Students for Independence (FEPI), directly linked to the MPI and functioning actively against the draft and the war in nearly 50 of our 76 towns and cities. Since they come from the most oppressed classes and normally have to enter the labor force after a few years of school, they are giving the MPI more and more of a proletarian content and direction.

Rejection of the draft has taken two different forms up to this point. In an article in the May 7 *New Republic*, Marvin M. Karparkin claims: "Their [MPI's] young men do not refuse, *per se*, to be drafted, but appear when ordered and state that they are ready to take the military oath if they can add to it a statement containing certain reservations based on their political position. Not unexpectedly, the Defense Department refuses to accept them with such reservations; some prosecutions are pending."

Karparkin is only partially correct. Although those grounds have been enough for the U.S. to prosecute our members, the fact is that more and more of our young men are flatly refusing to take the military oath of loyalty, or even to observe pre-induction requirements, openly rejecting the draft. On these grounds, more than a dozen have been arrested. Two recent cases are those of Jorge Plard and Antonio Diaz-Royo. These MPI Youth Organization activists made the following statement on their refusal to be drafted:

"We, Puerto Rican youths, make clear our opposition to the unjust law of compulsory military service imposed on the Puerto Ricans by U.S. imperialism. The U.S. government has called upon us to give our lives in defense of its imperialist interests. We, militants of the MPI Puerto Rican patriotic vanguard, refuse that call and do so publicly. . . . We use this occasion to make public our support of the Vietnamese patriots struggling with great valor and sacrifice for the independence and national liberation of their fatherland. We call on the Puerto Rican youth not to comply with the unjust laws of compulsory military service, this being the most violent expression of the colonial condition to which the government of Washington has us bound."

In September, the federal trial of Sixto Alvelo will begin. This young worker, who has become a symbol and example for our struggle, was the first to be arrested for categorically refusing the draft. His trial will be held at the U.S. federal court in San Juan, final authority in any case menacing the interests of the U.S. ruling class in Puerto Rico. Alvelo will be confronted with the possibility of a long prison term. Recently, a bomb was set off in his home.

Lawyers Contracted

For his defense, MPI has contracted the services of the law firm of Rabinowitz and Boudin, who can practice in the federal court. The outcome of Alvelo's trial will be of relevance not only to us Puerto Ricans, but also to the North American youth in opposition to the draft.

Another case is that of the young Puerto Rican soldier Adolfo Rodríguez. Stationed in North Carolina, he was notified that he would be sent to Vietnam. He responded by openly condemning the war on moral grounds. He refused to be transported and stripped himself of his rank. He will be court-martialed soon. Recently, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist League was arrested because of his refusal of the draft.

At the Tricontinental Conference held in Revolutionary Cuba in January, the MPI delegates declared their full support to the heroic Vietnamese people. A joint statement, signed by Nguyen Van Tien for the National Front of Liberation of south Vietnam and by Norman Pietri for MPI, declared:

"The NFL and the MPI struggle against a common enemy, the enemy of both of our peoples, and the enemy of the whole of humanity, U.S. imperialism. We both struggle for national independence, peace and social progress. . . . U.S. imperialism talks of 'peace' in Vietnam, but in reality, each day intensifies more and more its inhuman war of aggression against the Vietnamese people; talks of 'freedom,' but maintains Puerto Rico under colonial domination and maintains south Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and other countries under military occupation — murdering, jailing, oppressing and exploiting their populations."

The statement continues: "The MPI expresses its full support to the patriotic struggle of the Viet-

namese people under the banner of the National Front of Liberation, sole representative of the 14 million of south Vietnamese."

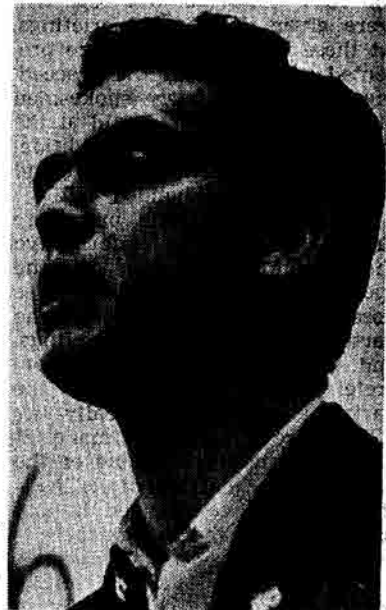
The statement ends with the following message to the North American people: "The NFL and the MPI warmly greet and fully support the struggle of the American people against the war of aggression which the Johnson administration wages against the people of Vietnam, who love peace and independence; that struggle is for the legitimate interests of the people of the United States."

In a fundamental sense, our struggle against the U.S. military establishment strikes at the very roots that sustain the imperialist regime in Puerto Rico. The U.S. industrial and agricultural monopoly corporations that rob our workers of their labor and our country of its natural wealth can do so primarily because they are well protected by the U.S. military establishment.

It is the presence of 30,000 troops in our territory, together with the MP's, the FBI and the CIA, which places obstacles in the way of our liberation, by provoking that sense of fear which still prevents sections of our oppressed classes in taking active part in the fight for independence.

Our struggle against the military establishment is gradually dispelling the notion — still held in some pro-independence sectors — that our process of liberation must pass through two distinct and separate stages, each supposedly deserving its own strategy. The first stage, according to this theory, is an anti-colonial struggle directed principally towards the acquisition of juridical sovereignty and independence. The second stage would be an anti-neocolonial struggle, directed towards the destruction of the whole economic structure of imperialism. But the U.S. military establishment is the sustaining basis of both the colonial and neocolonial structures in Puerto Rico. Thus, a struggle against it tends to fuse these two stages into one single and continuous revolutionary process, and forces our strategy to be one of a single, continuous and long-term nature.

With each day that passes, the struggle of the Puerto Rican people against U.S. imperialism and for national liberation becomes more conscious and organized. It is inevitably leaping to higher and higher levels. U.S. imperialism, which will be unable to deal with the masses of three continents solidly unified in their struggle, will be defeated. We Puerto Ricans shall free our country, and that freedom we shall share and cherish with the Vietnamese, Dominicans, Colombians, Congolese and all liberated and victorious peoples of the world, including, in the long run, the North American masses.



Pedro Juan Rua

A REPORT AND ASSESSMENT

The Communist Party Convention

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — The 18th national convention of the Communist Party, held here June 22-26 was, at first glance, an impressive affair. The surface appearance was that of a viable, growing movement with a significant youth component. Politically, there was the impression of a more militant tone than in the past, a certain shift to the left.

On the opening night, Gus Hall presented the main report to a semi-public meeting of nearly a thousand delegates and guests. In sharp contrast to Communist Party gatherings of the past several years, some 20 to 25 percent of the audience consisted of young people.

A big banner declared, "End the War in Vietnam! Bring the Troops Home Now!" Another declared: "For Socialism in Our Country in Our Time."

The convention opened with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner, but the main report by Gus Hall, as well as the documents adopted, had a generally more militant tone than previously. However, a careful examination of the report (a 65-page document which took him three long hours to read) shows that the line remains what it has been for three decades — a right-wing policy of political class collaboration, a policy of tail-ending the Democratic Party.

His report covered the national and international situation. One paragraph made the most news and was greeted enthusiastically by the gathering. That was when he declared: "The time has come for all organizations and individuals who are for an alternative to gather their forces now, to prepare to set into motion the movement that will present our people an independent candidate for president in 1968."

Some newsmen, and some hopefuls in the audience, interpreted this as a call for a third party candidate in 1968 — or even a Communist ticket. Later remarks by Hall and the resolutions adopted make clear this was a misunderstanding. The Communist Party remains committed to its policy of working within the two-party system.

Main Work Sessions

The working sessions of the convention got underway behind closed doors the next morning. The gathering was somewhat smaller than the party leadership had predicted. It was originally announced there would be 300 delegates and 500 invited observers. According to Arnold Johnson, party public relations director, the final credentials report showed 213 delegates, 42 alternates and 412 visitors. The delegates represented 36 states. According to the report, 91 of the delegates were under 35.

The press was not admitted to the closed sessions. But reporters were given daily press briefings. At these briefings, they were presented summaries of the proceedings and heard party spokesmen outline what they had said at the various sessions. In addition, copies of the principal reports and resolutions were handed out.

In some ways, this procedure proved even more informative than simply listening to the speeches at the sessions. It was possible to question those who participated in the press briefings, and this often elicited more concrete information on what the party's actual position really is.

The press briefings made it clear that neither the line of the party nor the outlook of its leading figures have changed in any basic respect, even though there is an effort to present a new face.

For example, Joseph North, writer and leading cultural figure in the party, summarized the com-

ments he had made to the convention on the state of American culture. In some ways, his remarks represented a fresher, less dogmatic approach. But when North was asked about the jailing of the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel in the Soviet Union, he replied:

"I didn't take a position until I read their work. They're not only anti-Soviet but anti-human. They don't like people. Every revolution has to defend itself. What they were doing was feeding anti-Sovietism around the world. They were being used by the cold warriors. I might have handled it differently. Maybe have a big congress of Soviet writers, televise it to the people. But the revolution has to defend itself."

North added that he would be opposed to censorship in a socialist America.

The degree to which elementary Marxist concepts have become foreign to the party was indicated when one of the delegates, a young man from Chicago by the name of James Kennedy, gave reporters a summary of the remarks he had made to the convention on Communism and Catholicism. He had been studying for the priesthood, but left the church and then joined the CP.

Revolutionary Pope?

He outlined in glowing terms what he saw as startling progressive trends in the Catholic Church. He said these trends were given impetus by the late Pope John, whose teaching he hailed as "revolutionary" both in terms of social outlook and theology. Noting the importance of winning Catholic workers, he asserted they must be won "on their own terms," that is on the terms of Catholic doctrine. "The anti-monopoly teachings of John," he said, "must be the basis of winning an anti-monopoly coalition." Asked if he expected the party to endorse his view, he replied that these views were already included in the party program and he was simply elaborating them.

The absence of serious Marxist education in the party was further indicated by the superficiality of the views on black nationalism expressed at a press briefing by Robert Elliot, 20, the party's New York State youth director. There are two kinds of nationalism, he said. There is separatism and there is "the healthy kind like SNCC's." But what he saw as healthy in the black consciousness being developed by SNCC was simply "the awakening of racial pride, cultural pride, ethnic pride, like you see among the Jews and Italians and so on."

In no sense did he indicate any awareness of the revolutionary implications of black nationalism, of the objectively anti-capitalist character of its refusal to integrate into a rotten, reactionary white society. Nor did he see the revolutionary implications of the counterposing of black power to fight oppression.

Yet the views Elliot expressed on the question were no worse, and perhaps a bit better, than that of one of the party's leading spokesmen, James Jackson, publisher of *The Worker*.

Jackson sought to trace the evolution of the party's position on the Negro question. He recalled that the last national convention, in December, 1959, had officially scrapped the position adopted by the party during an ultra-left period in the early 30's. That position was summed up in the slogan, "Self-determination for the Black Belt." What was meant by this was not simply support of the right of the Negro people to determine their own destiny but advocacy by the party of the creation of a nation-state in the Black Belt.

At the 1959 convention, it was agreed that the direction of the

Negro struggle was toward integration and the slogan, which in practice had long since been dropped, was officially scrapped.

Jackson then explained that the present convention had discussed whether or not current trends in the Negro movement didn't negate the position of the 1959 convention. (This discussion may have been prompted by the sharp drop in the previously significant Negro membership in the party, as evidenced by the very small number at the convention).

At any rate, Jackson said they had decided that the present trends didn't negate their position, but were in fact a "dialectical" confirmation of it. He said "things like 'black power' and SNCC" seemed to challenge the perspective of black-white unity,

For Example, Take The Vote for LBJ

"The concept of lesser evil is not something created by the Left or the Communists. It is a natural phenomenon rising from the tendency of society to move in a progressive direction . . . One is forced to admire the uncanny sensitivity of the voting multitudes in being able to distinguish in which direction a candidate leans." — Gus Hall in his keynote address to the Communist Party convention.

but these were simply superficial manifestations. Actually, he asserted, the Negroes are organizing so they can fight more effectively for black-white unity.

Discussing the development of the Lowndes County, Alabama, Freedom Organization, he said he favored such organization of political parties by Negroes in areas where they constituted a majority, but did not think it practical in areas where they are a minority.

In response to questioning, however, a more critical attitude emerged. Commenting on the Lowndes County Freedom Organization's emblem, which is the black panther, Jackson said:

"I wish they had another symbol for their party. I can understand the reason for it — the Democrats there use the racist symbol of the white rooster — but I wish they had used the symbol of an American eagle with black and white feathers. This would have better symbolized the solution to the problem."

Asked to comment on the statement by SNCC chairman, Stokely Carmichael, that to ask a Negro to join the Democratic Party is like asking a Jew to join the Nazi Party, Jackson replied:

"Mr. Carmichael is an eloquent and dedicated young fighter for his people. But in the . . . polemical fray, he may say things that are not precisely true the next day. There are still remaining areas for Negroes to work in the Democratic Party. Certainly, Negroes won't forego the opportunity to do so."

These comments apparently distressed some of the delegates, and there was reportedly a motion the next day to disassociate the convention from his remarks. This motion was defeated. Instead, Jackson issued a statement which expressed "appreciation for the important and continuing contribution of SNCC and the Black Panther movement to the cause of Negro representation . . ."

This dispute apparently reflected a greater sensitivity on this question by the younger members. (At the W.E.B. Dubois Clubs convention in Chicago a week previous, Negro members of that organization spoke out in favor of black nationalism.)

While the Communist Party has won a significant number of young people to its ranks, it apparently has not succeeded in tapping any significant new layer of the population. Bettina Aptheker estimated (probably generously) that there are now some 500 youth members of the Communist Party nationally, and Robert Elliot estimated 100 to 150 in the state.

Asked how many of these were children of people who have been in the party, he replied, "no more than two-thirds."

The convention resolutions make clear these young people are getting the same miseducation their parents did. The central theoretical proposition on which the party's domestic program is based is the creation of an "anti-monopoly coalition" and an "anti-monopoly government."

The concept of a capitalist anti-monopoly government is, in theoretical terms, a flat rejection of Marxism and the Marxist concept of the class structure of society. It ignores the fundamental Marxist tenet that the state is the executive body of the ruling class. Instead, it speaks of some kind of unholy "conspiracy" between the state and the monopolies and argues that this "conspiracy" can be ended this side of a change in the class character of the government.

Gus Hall's report stated: "Short of socialism, the only qualitative change that will open the door to meaningful social, economic and political progress is the breaking of the ties of conspiracy between the state and monopolies."

By building an amorphous multi-class "people's anti-monopoly coalition," we are told such a government can come into being. It would be a government that would end the cold war, eradicate jim crow, nationalize key industries, shorten the work week, etc., etc.

Perhaps the party is really talking about a workers' government on the road to socialism? No. Hall is quite specific: "Such a government would not be socialist. Its class essence would not change."

This concept is even carried a step further in the direction of class collaboration, with the assertion that it is even possible to find allies within the ranks of the monopolists. The convention draft resolution declares: "In its approach to political and electoral struggles, the Communist Party has consistently fought for the tactic of directing the main fire against the ultra-right. This is a tactic based on the existence of differentiations within the camp of monopoly capital . . . The essence of the tactic is to mobilize the broadest possible coalition against the most reactionary, pro-war and pro-fascist sections of monopoly capital . . ." (Emphasis added.)

Lesser Evilism

This anti-Marxist concept that the existence of differences within the ruling capitalist circles makes it permissible to support one section of the ruling class against another is the basis for the continuing, pernicious "lesser evil" politics of the Communist Party.

Despite the still fresh, terrible experience of supporting "lesser evil" Johnson as against "main danger" Goldwater, the party still insists that such a course is the only road to peace and social progress. True, the bitter Johnson experience has created some difficulties in peddling this line, and there were even criticisms at the convention on this score. These criticisms are acknowledged in the draft resolution on political action which states that the party was guilty of "insufficient criticism" of Johnson during the race.

But, the party leadership insists, "The task of the communists . . . is to be flesh and bone of independent movements everywhere...



Gus Hall

To aid this historic political development, it is necessary soberly to take into account the level at which the largest number of Americans are expressing their readiness to support independent policy and electoral activity. *An objective appraisal will lead to the conclusion that this is at present in and around the orbit of the Democratic Party.* (Draft Document on Political Action. Emphasis added.)

Or as Gus Hall explained it, "The newly independent millions . . . are not yet ready to sever all their relations with the past . . . These very important new sectors of the electorate are ready to join independent movements and support independent candidates who are still in the two-party orbit, but are not ready to break out of that orbit."

To nail it down a bit further, after offering the bait of an "independent candidate" in 1968, Hall added, "The way to prepare for 1968 is to avoid the pitfalls of isolation and dead-end pathways . . . The concept of defeating the candidates of the ultra-right in 1966 is a necessary preparation for 1968."

The convention elected a national committee of 80. This was chosen from a slate of 96 presented by the presiding committee, plus 10 more nominated from the floor. Gus Hall reported that none of the nominees had received a unanimous vote, but that he had been elected general secretary, and Henry Winston, national chairman, by acclamation. Hall added modestly that his election had been accompanied by "thunderous applause."

Perhaps the best summary of the politics of the party was given by one of the convention observers who participated in a press briefing. A young man by the name of James Forest, Jr., explained that his father had been a Communist Party functionary, but that he had been "turned off" by the party and became a Catholic and a pacifist. He is secretary of the Catholic Youth Fellowship.

He said he had come to the convention out of "curiosity" because his activities in the antiwar movement had brought him into contact with many Communists. He added that he believes the party is "the most moderate and well-established organization on the left."

Asked what he meant by moderate, he explained that there is a whole spectrum of left views and that the views of the CP are on the right of that spectrum. He assailed other radical groups as "glandular leftists" who are "aligned with violence." The Communist Party, he added, "has more of an evolutionary than a revolutionary approach."

Citing the issue of Vietnam, he said the other left-wing groups "are for the victory of the other side." This, he said, is not true of the Communist Party.

Public relations director Johnson, who had intervened in other discussions at the briefings, had no comment.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Message from Greece

Athens, Greece
We, the Greek Trotskyists, have placed Comrade Leo Bernard along with our other numerous martyrs of the class struggle.

The best way to honor the memory of our fighters is to hold higher the red banner of the revolutionary struggle against war and imperialism for a better world of peace and socialism.

Warmest greetings to our comrades, Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

Long live the American working class and its vanguard, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

K. Krateros
For the Political
Committee, Inter-
nationalist Communist
Party

Report on MAW

San Francisco, Calif.
A new organization called "Mothers Alone Working" (MAW) was started about 8 months ago, with two branches, one in San Francisco and the other in East Bay. It hopes to develop into a national organization.

It was founded by two women, one Negro and the other white. Between a third and a half of the members are Negro, and the majority of the elected officers are Negro. This is the first time that one of the poorest and most oppressed segments of the population — mothers working alone to support their children — have organized themselves for social action.

The spur behind this long-needed type of organization was the so-called "War Against Poverty." Although our organization has contacted many agencies in this poverty program, it has yet to receive a single funding grant.

A statement made by "Mothers Alone Working" before the Study Committee on Public and Private Employment on April 28 in San Francisco, posed the most distressing problems these women face.

Although women generally earn less on their jobs than do men, they are burdened with extra expenses to feed, clothe, educate and provide for their children. They need as much housing space as do families with father-providers, which places an inordinate rent load upon mothers working alone. Mothers with young children require child care assistance while they work; all need child care

assistance in case of sickness in the family.

According to the 1960 census in our area, there were close to 40,000 families with children under 18 in which the mother bore the family responsibilities alone. Almost one-quarter of these were nonwhite. Whereas the median family income for all families in the Bay Area with children under 18 was over \$7,000, the same for "mothers alone" was \$2,870 for white mothers and \$2,050 for nonwhite mothers.

These figures demonstrate that mothers working alone are the most severely depressed, deprived families identified in the census statistics.

Mothers Working Alone considers as its potential members all those women who are attempting to be self-sufficient and independent. They must be able to get jobs that pay enough to support their families; they must be able to provide for their families while getting additional training or education to secure better-paying jobs. Above all, there must be adequate care and supervision of their children while the women are working and studying.

Any of your readers who would like further information on this new organization should write to: Mothers Working Alone, Box 475, San Francisco, Calif.

Joan Jordan

Message from England

Bristol, England
May we send to all the relatives and friends of Leo Bernard our sincere condolences. We were immensely shocked to read of his brutal murder last week.

To you who have, even in normal situations, a tremendous struggle in your fight for socialism, this must have been a particularly painful blow. But do not lose heart; we, and millions of others, are solidly behind you in the struggle which we all know will eventually lead to a more peaceful and just world.

We shall overcome!

Roger M. Bartlett, chairman
Alan Smith, secretary
Bristol South Labor Party
Young Socialists

Capitalists Just Human?

Youngstown, Ohio
I am more than a little disappointed by the way you blame capitalism for everything that goes wrong in the world. All capitalists are not like Johnson and his mob, and we should not be held responsible for what they are doing.

The only thing that separates us from socialists is that we prefer to take a few risks, whereas the socialist wants immediate financial security, too, but we choose to face the personal challenge of

working for it rather than having it handed to us.

Granted, capitalists gain from war, but not all of them want it. Granted, capitalism based on greed is bound to lead to high prices, poor quality, false advertising and general disregard for the consumer. But this involves dishonesty, a liability not restricted to capitalists.

We have the highest regard for civil rights and the less fortunate; we have started and supported programs for both. Don't blame all of us when these programs are corrupted by a few self-centered politicians.

The only bad capitalists are dishonest ones; and if most capitalists are dishonest, it's because most people are dishonest.

My deepest sympathy goes out to the young socialists attacked in Detroit. The attempts of the major news media to cover up this incident were almost successful.

J.A.F.

On News Fitting

Brooklyn, N. Y.
I think I know why the *New York Times* censored the original story by their correspondent preceding the Bay of Pigs invasion. It seems that the Kennedy administration persuaded the *Times* that this was a case of: "News not fit for print!"

"In the national interest," of course. But whose interest?

C.M.

Poses Questions

Santa Cruz, Calif.
We were good at raising questions about the assassinations of Kennedy and Malcolm X. How about raising similar questions concerning the assassination of Leo Bernard?

Was he simply a random vic-

Thought for the Week

"JACKSON, Miss., June 27 — The civil rights march through Mississippi has made it clear that a new philosophy of 'black consciousness' is sweeping the civil rights movement. When the march began, the philosophy was only an idea in the mind of Stokely Carmichael and other members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. But when the march ended yesterday, the new philosophy had given rise to a distinct movement within a movement. It had Mr. Carmichael as its leader and the late Malcolm X as its prophet."
— Gene Roberts in the *New York Times*.

tim? If not, why was he, and the others who were wounded, chosen as victims? What lessons can we learn from the assassination? How do we prevent a recurrence of this kind of tragedy, perhaps on a mass basis?

These questions are simply a beginning, intended to stimulate others. Once we discover the right questions, the answers will be close behind.

D.R.

The Stakes in Vietnam

Hudson Falls, N.Y.
According to a recent newspaper item, Secretary McNamara is of the opinion that if American troops had not been rushed in, the Communists would have overrun south Vietnam, butchered thousands and brought turmoil to all of Southeast Asia.

There are other conditions, perhaps far more serious, that might also have resulted besides those the secretary has enumerated; that is, if the *New York Times* of Feb. 12, 1950, the U.S. State Department one year later, and the then-President Eisenhower in 1953, are correct in their dicta — and which are listed in *The Militant* of Mar. 28, page 3, "Peace Broadcast — appeal to GIs in Vietnam," namely:

(*N.Y. Times*): "Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the North are exportable tin,

tungsten, manganese, coal, lumber and hides. Even before World War II, Indo-China yielded dividends estimated at \$300 million a year."

(U.S. State Department): "We have only partially exploited Southeast Asia's resources. Nevertheless, Southeast Asia supplied 90 percent of the world's crude rubber, 60 percent of its tin and 80 percent of its copra and coconut oil. It has sizeable quantities of sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, sisal, fruits, spices, natural resins and gums, petroleum, iron ore and bauxite."

(President Eisenhower): "Now let us assume we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, the tin and tungsten we so greatly value would cease coming. We are after the cheapest way to prevent the occurrence of something terrible — the loss of our ability to get what we want from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia."

G.M.

Likes Historical Material

Evansville, Ill.
Keep up the good work. I especially enjoy your historical sketches of rebels of the past and pieces such as the one you did on the A-bomb a year or so ago, the Korean war and the bring the troops home movement after World War II.

T.F.

It Was Reported in the Press

Bring 'Em Home! — "FAIR-FIELD — Dr. Charles Sloca, Parsons professor and Republican candidate for the Iowa governorship, declared today that the Vietnam war is unconstitutionally unlawful and called upon Gov. Harold Hughes to suspend all state draft board activities, to countermand all calls to military service and to return all drafted Iowans from the war." — The June 25 Ottumwa, Iowa, *Courier*.

Problems of Great Society — The city manager in Clearwater, Fla., trained his dog not to walk on the living room rug. Then he bought a new house with wall-to-wall carpeting in every room except the kitchen. The dog had to be retrained.

Special Case — The administration says we'll probably have to pay higher taxes to finance the Vietnam war. But the House adopted a bill doubling the income tax deduction allowed to self-employed persons who establish their own retirement plans. A Treasury Department spokesman said the measure would primarily benefit "high-paid dentists, doctors and lawyers."

Twister — The magazine *Chemical Week* has come up with a new tongue twister: cyclotrimethylene-trinitramine. It's a material used to produce the 300,000 tons of explosives that go into the 638,000 tons of U.S. bombs the magazine says will be dropped in Vietnam this year.

Note to New Yorkers — New Yorkers who were appalled by the high degree of air pollution recorded in the city will not be cheered to learn that the air in midtown and downtown Manhat-

tan is much worse than in the uptown area, where the air pollution laboratory is located. A study concluded that the poisonous sulphur dioxide level is double that shown in the uptown readings.

It Figures — Dr. Carl Fisher, an assistant school superintendent for Hillsborough County, Florida, charged that some \$40,000 worth of federal surplus commodities used for the school lunch program seemed to have disappeared. He was promptly fired for "economy reasons."

Elections Coming — The Senate Agriculture Committee rejected

Johnson's request to slash the school milk program from \$103 million a year down to \$21 million a year. It also rejected his proposal to cut the school lunch program.

Those Still Alive, That Is — President Johnson announced plans for a White House conference, in 1970, to discuss the needs and opportunities of American youth.

Man, Double the Recipe! — The Bourbon Institute of America is offering a recipe for bourbon brownies.

—Harry Ring

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Summer 1966

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A MISSISSIPPI MARCHER'S REPORT

'Black Power' Was the Rallying Cry

By Dan Styron

JACKSON, Miss. — Walking through a street in Canton, Miss., to join the Mississippi march, we passed a small clapboard house where 7 or 8 small children jumped up and down with excitement. The children were shouting, "We want black power, we want black power, black power!" — the slogan which had become the theme of the march. The march, begun by James Meredith, became the largest civil rights demonstration ever held in Mississippi.

The marchers, who had been among those gassed and beaten the night before, carried signs reading "we are ready for black power" and "black power by any means necessary." Several also had "black power" written across the front of their T-shirts.

For some time, the most advanced participants in the Southern struggle have been gravitating toward the idea that the black people themselves are a real force for social change if they organize independently, and are not just a moral force to prick the consciences of white liberals, legislators and "men of goodwill." What the march demonstrated is the great extent to which these ideas are beginning to be taken up by a large layer of the Southern black population. The enthusiastic response of townspeople as well as the marchers to the concept of black power was a clear indication of this.

When one new marcher joined the protest and raised the slogan "freedom now," he was quickly cautioned by those beside him, "Freedom now is dead, baby. We are marching for black power."

In the march itself, the old was mixed with the new, as evidenced by the wide range of sponsoring organizations. While Dr. Martin Luther King was extolling the virtues of nonviolence, the Deacons for Defense and Justice protected the marchers. No one insisted that Dr. King defend himself, but neither did they deny



Stokely Carmichael

that right to others, and many people expressed relief that the Deacons were there.

Implicit in the concept of black power is self-defense. This tactic for opposing the violence of white racists was a major topic of discussion as the march moved slowly toward Jackson. Most of those opposed to blacks defending themselves were some whites, a few black ministers and some from the North. The overwhelming sentiment was for self-defense, and to most local people the argument seemed academic.

When one professional pacifist from South Philadelphia suggested that those who didn't believe in nonviolence were discrediting the civil rights movement and should go home, she was quickly silenced by the rejoinder, "We're already home, baby, and we are the civil rights movement."

Ernest Thomas of the Deacons best summed up the mood of the marchers when he said, "Since he knows we aren't all non-violent, John Bigot isn't so free to come in and start something."

Leaving Tougaloo College for Jackson on Sunday morning, the march's ranks had swelled 20 times the number that had arrived from Canton the day before. Spirits were high with "black power" echoing up and down the line of march.

Black Panther Signs

On the last leg of the march, stickers with a picture of a black panther and the words "We're the greatest" were pasted on every object in sight — telephone poles, street signs, pocket books, freight train cars, the backs of shirts and even police cars. The black panther is the symbol of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization of Alabama, which is running independent candidates for local office in the coming elections.

Marchers pinned placards to their backs, with the inscription "Move on over or we'll move on over you." When signs reading "freedom now" were interjected into the line, a black panther sticker often appeared at its top.

Upon passing a fancy church in the suburbs of Jackson, a minister from Ohio broke into song: "I love everybody, I love everybody, I love everybody in my heart." Upon completing the three verses he remembered, the song was picked up by the black marchers who added a verse of their own — "I hate white crackers, I hate white crackers, I hate white crackers in my heart."

The sun was blistering hot. In the shade, the thermometer read 105 degrees, but there was no shade where the march was going. No one could find enough water to quench his thirst, and one marcher said, "When we get black power, I'm going to make a law that the telephone company put

water fountains in every telephone booth."

Upon entering Jackson, SNCC workers and other militants walked on the outside of the march, exhorting well-wishers to join the swirling mass of people that now pushed through the narrow streets of Jackson's black community. Thousands left the sidewalks, and swelled the demonstration to over 18,000. Four-lane highways were engulfed as the march became 25 to 30 abreast for as far as the eye could see.

As we approached the State House, we saw that it was being defended by hundreds of steel-helmeted Mississippi police and national guard, carrying twelve gauge shotguns and gas masks.

The marchers spread out beneath shade trees, relaxing after the long walk, and listened to speeches from a hastily erected platform.

Lawrence Guyot of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party said: "There are three terms all Negroes should know from birth: white supremacy, neo-colonialism and black power." The audience responded enthusiastically, and Guyot added, "Those who stand in the way of black self-determination are neo-colonialists. They must be exposed!"

Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC, made four points: (1) Black people must stop being ashamed of being black. (2) We must define what we want. (3) We must have unity and out of this we will get strength. (4) "We must build a power base to bring them to their knees every time they mess with us." He went on to say that the black people have a right to define who their friends are and the right to reject some of those who call themselves friends.

Floyd McKissick, head of CORE, stated that the 1963 March on Washington was a failure, "a picnic." "We got to organize so we can get some of that power." Commenting on the fear many whites have of the slogan "black power," he said, "The reason they are afraid is because they know how they used power against you." This year, he said, people should start calling themselves black men and no longer Negroes.

The speeches were kept short and to the point. As the weary marchers turned their backs on the muzzles of the hundreds of shotguns which stood between them and the State House to begin the long trek home, a reporter asked a young woman why she had brought her tiny baby to the meeting. She replied, "Hush, man, that's nine pounds of black power."

N.Y., Chicago to Hear Lowndes County Report

Derrick Morrison, Detroit fighter for Afro-American rights and a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance, will give first-hand reports in New York and Chicago on the Lowndes County, Ala., Freedom Organization.

Just returned from Lowndes County, he will speak in New York on Friday evening, July 15, and in Chicago on Friday evening, July 22. The New York meeting will be at the Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway. The Chicago meeting will be at the Friday Night Socialist Forum, 302 S. Canal St.

SDS Leader Backs Up Africa Aid Committee

NEW YORK — In a dramatic move to demonstrate the importance of unity in the struggle against South African apartheid, Carl Oglesby, the president of Students for a Democratic Society, agreed to become co-chairman of the Alexander Defense Committee. This is the committee which has been ordered by the U.S. Department of Justice to register as an "agent of a foreign principal."

Oglesby's move thus makes him liable to the same punishment as the four other officers of the Alexander Defense Committee, who have refused to comply with the government's vicious attack. All five officers face possible five year jail terms and \$10,000 fines.

The "foreign principal" involved in the Justice Department order is Dr. Neville Alexander, a young South African instructor who is serving a 10-year prison sentence in the notorious Robben Island concentration camp. Alexander, along with 10 other young instructors, had been charged with "sabotage" by the neo-fascist regime, merely on the evidence that he and his friends had been reading works by Marxist authors and Che Guevara's book on guerrilla warfare. No other actions were involved.

Funds Needed

The Alexander Defense Committee now faces the difficult task of raising funds for the support of the 11 families of the imprisoned victims. As well, the ADC has undertaken the legal defense of other South African blacks facing political attacks by Verwoerd's white racist regime, and it is committed to the support of the additional families involved.

Oglesby stated that SDS members "felt deeply enough" about the attempted intimidation of the committee for him to "get legally implicated." The move was made at the SDS national council meeting in Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 18 and 19. The SDS national council unanimously passed the following resolution:

"SDS affirms its opposition to the attempt to force the Alexander Defense Committee to register as the agent of a foreign principal. We regard this as a clear attempt at political intimidation aimed at stifling American support for South African freedom movements. We extend our solidarity to the Alexander Defense Committee in this fight and urge all men of good will to join us in doing so."

Other Supporters

Spokesmen of the American Civil Liberties Union, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Workers Defense League, American Committee on Africa, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Congress of Racial Equality have previously protested the Justice Dept. harassment of the ADC as a perversion of the law and demanded that the order be rescinded. Statements of support have also been received from M.S. Aronson, Kay Boyle, Maxwell Geismar, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Norman Thomas and many others.

Sponsors include: James Aronson, Carl and Anne Braden, Calif. Assemblyman Willie J. Brown, John Henrik Clarke, Congressman John Conyers, Jr., Mich. State Senator Roger Craig, Ossie Davis, Dorothy Day, Ruby Dee, James Forman, Maxwell Geismar, Nat Hentoff, Len Holt, H. Stuart Hughes, John O. Killens, William Kunstler, Walter Lowenfels, Staughton Lynd, Floyd McKissick, Hans J. Morganthau, A. J. Muste, Reinhold Niebuhr, Linus Pauling, Pete Seeger, J. David Singer, Paul Sweezy and Howard Zinn.

Funds are urgently needed in order for the Alexander Defense Committee to continue carrying on its work for victims in South Africa at the same time it defends itself against the government attack. Contributions and requests for further information should be sent to the Alexander Defense Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.



Photo by Dan Styron

NEW MOOD. This popular sign on Mississippi march reflected rising black consciousness.

BERWYN LIFE

- 1 We should support our government's present policy in Viet Nam until an honorable peace can be negotiated. 14%
- 2 We should stop expanding the war and negotiate an immediate peace even if it is not to our liking. 14%
- 3 We should immediately withdraw our troops from Viet Nam, regardless of the consequences. 59%
- 4 We should expand the war and seek complete victory, regardless of the consequences. 13%

STRONG SENTIMENT. Poll taken by Berwyn Life, newspaper in white working class suburb of Chicago, among its readers shows rising demand for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. These results were printed in June 26 issue of paper. A recent national Gallup poll reported that national sentiment for withdrawal of troops has risen to 35 percent, compared with 20 percent one year ago in a similar poll, while opinion supporting a continuation of the war dropped from 66 percent to 48 percent.